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ABSTRACT

In an effort to improve understanding and to provide better solutions to the world's political problems, this paper examines national territory or states in terms of their functional processes and their spatial structures. Examples from Third World states are provided. The author first presents a model of political territory. It has a boundary incorporating a state's legally defined political territory. This formal region of the state can be subdivided into two units. The first, called the effective national territory or ENT, is that portion of state territory where the central authority has control and can exercise coercive power. Within this regional unit would be the capital. The second unit is the noneffective national territory or N-ENT. It is that portion outside the normal reach of the state's central authority. The author maintains that the N-ENT is as important to the state as the ENT in spatial terms because its presence establishes a two region spatial structure in the political area. This structure has impact on the political processes of the state because in functioning effectively the central authority will attempt to eliminate this element if it is to fulfill its prime objective. Many Third World states have a portion of their territory as N-ENT. For example, a number of states in Africa such as eastern Mauritania, northern Mali, and northern Chad have large stretches of their national area without a permanent population. Another type of N-ENT is where a section of one state is outside the central authority's control because of a neighboring state's claim and occupation. This occurred in Chad when Libya claimed a strip along the northern border. (RM)

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NON-EFFECTIVE NATIONAL TERRITORY:

A Characteristic of Third World States

by

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SO 014 184

Annual Meeting
of
The Association of American Geographers

San Antonio

April 26, 1982

Introduction

The world political map of today clearly reveals the dominance of the state as the prime unit of polity. States comprise over 160 out of the 222 or so political entities that exist. The emergence of the state to its preeminent role is a consequence of the evolution and change in political systems since approximately 1500. As the state pattern has developed, the basic requirements of being a state have focused on eight attributes. These are territory, population, government, economic system, circulation system, civil sub-divisions, sovereignty, and recognition.[1]

Political geographers have most typically concentrated five of these basic requirements, leaving government (or political system), sovereignty, and recognition to political science. Within the discipline, studies of state attributes have crystallized into four different approaches: the morphological, the historical (genetic), the power analysis, and the functional, in approximate order of chronological development.[2] Describing such characteristics as the size and shape of political territories, their internal features - their physical and cultural makeup, for example - constitutes the kernel of the morphological approach. Studies of this type focus on ideographic and static elements of a state and although such measurements help to define the broad geographic characteristics of the territorial unit, they do not elucidate how political processes function in space or what holds the territory together as a cohesive unit.

Of the four approaches above, the functional one comes closer to accomplishing this goal. As formulated, the functional approach argued that the political region was the result of a complex interaction between a set of ideas, political institutions (government), and territory (environmental forces).[3] From the geographer's perspective, space (territory) is a basic factor underlying and influencing the operation of the political system. Muir and Paddison indicate four basic reasons for this influence[4]; the one relevant to this paper is that governments use territory as a basis for defining the boundaries of polity. This suggests that, in grossest form, spatial structures limit government functioning.

It is the relationship between structure and function that I wish to investigate in this paper. The analysis of spatial structures has been a continuing theme in political geography and, as Soja has indicated, these are linked in a political system.[5] Gould, in investigating how particular processes in Tanzania structured the state's space, found some processes were space-dependent, some space-forming, and some space-transforming.[6] In other words, how processes function can be shaped by spatial structures and in turn, processes can create spatial structures. The interaction between structure and function is continuous.

Using elements of the morphological and functional approaches, I plan to examine states in terms of two distinct politico-geographic regions. The first is the legal one, expressed as the formal region of the state; the second is the functional region, defined as that part of the legal region where government functions in some expressible manner. The lack of congruence of these two regions is greatest in Third World states and examples will be used to illustrate the variety which exists.

Fundamental Elements and Structure of States: Past Views

Studies of the elements of territory and spatial structure of states have occupied an important place in political geography. Ratzel[7], Whittlesey[8], and Ball and Pounds[9] see the political unit built around three spatial elements: a boundary, a capital, and a core. The latter is the primary structural element of the state territory and Pounds later discusses the world pattern of state cores without significant reference to that portion of a state's territory outside the core.[10]

Whebell develops a model of political territory slightly more elaborate than the previous studies (Figure 1).[11] He believes state territory has five elements: boundary, capital, core, ecumene, and frontiers of two types - contact and separation. In morphological terms, the state has three regions. The core is defined in a traditional way and refers to 'the heart of the state'. The ecumene refers to the inhabited portion of state territory and incorporates the core. The frontier is that part of state territory which is uninhabited or more closely attached to neighboring states, especially in terms of contiguous settlement. Glassner and deBlij, in discussing the morphological elements of states, use core and ecumene in a similar way.[12]

Madden, using population criteria, distinguishes three areas in his model of state territory (Figure 2)[13]. His power core is that part of the state with the highest concentration of three factors: population, resources, and technology. It equates to the core of above. The power tributary surrounds the power core and his three factors occur in lesser amounts than in the power

Figure 1
Whebell

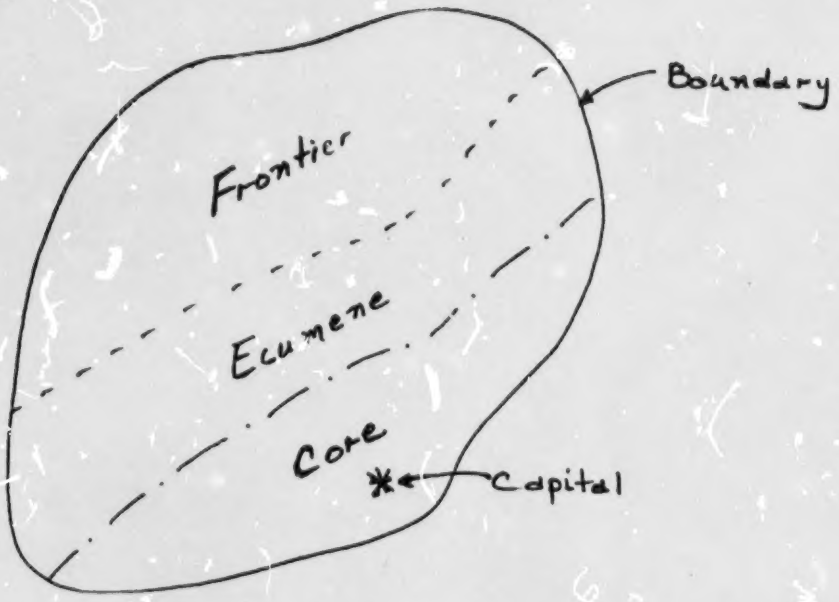
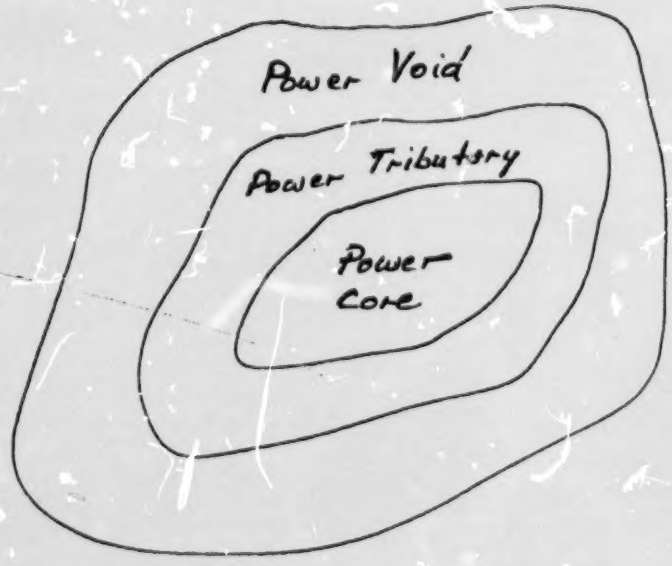


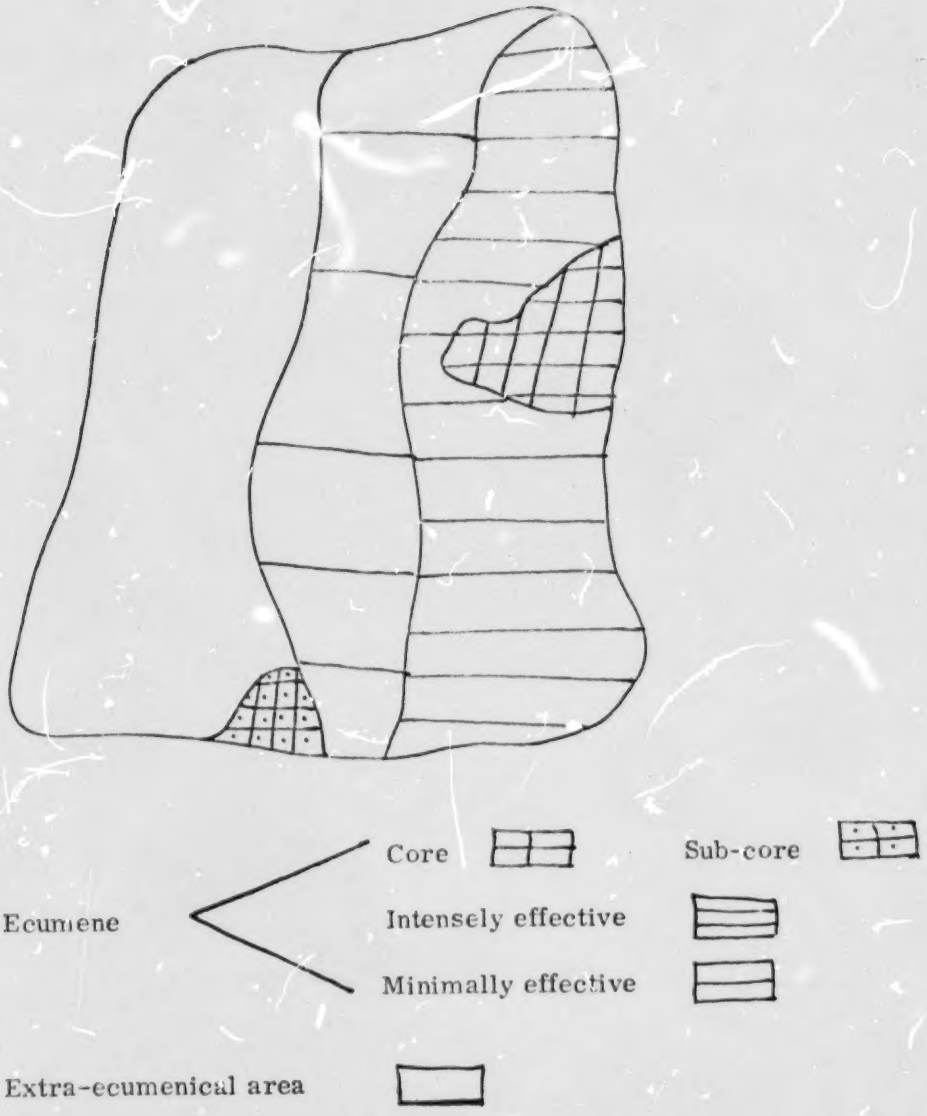
Figure 2
Madden



core although not necessarily in a poorer balance. The power void occurs on the periphery of the power tributary and is a region lacking one or more factors of population, resources,or technology. Madden's latter two regions are roughly analagous to ecumene and frontier.

Zaidi, in his study of West Pakistan, structures the state territory into a spatial hierarchy of five regions at the second level, based upon functional effectiveness of the state.[14] He employs the term "effective state area" and consciously uses functional criteria of an economic and transport character to establish his regions. His regional structure has two levels. At the highest level is the ecumene and the extra-ecumenical area (Figure 3) The ecumene is defined as "that part of the total state-area which is coherently welded together by transportation lines and provides economic support to most of its inhabitants."[15] The remaining portion of the state is the extra-ecumenical area. Additionally, he divides the ecumene into four sub-areas - core, sub-core, intensely effective area, and minimally effective area - with the gradations in the ecumene distinguished on the basis of population density and distance from transport lines. Of all the studies reviewed here, Zaidi's most closely combines the functional and morphological approaches. Yet, his seems cumbersome in the development of regions (What is an intensely effective area?) and neglects the extra-ecumenical area in his discussion. I will propose a model of state territory which retains his idea of functional distinction, simplifies the regions, and puts equal emphasis on the non-effective area.

Figure 3
Zaidi



A Re-Formulation

There exists two political maps of the world because continuous patterns of state sovereignty overlie relatively discontinuous patterns of effective governmental control and effective human occupancy. The first map is the map of states; the second map doesn't exist although it is far more important and much more descriptive of the governed surface of the earth than the first one. It would show that large areas of the political map are ungoverned and thus as Potholm states ". . . political systems are not always coterminous with existing states."[16]

Though sovereignty is indivisible, within each state are areas which vary in the degree to which they are integrated into the functioning of the state system. A prime objective of any government is the establishment of effective control over the entire, legal territory of its state. As Whittlesey has shown, effective central authority is a force for uniformity.[17] The establishment of such control is a gradual process especially in states that were simply created as opposed to evolving over a period of time in response to locally generated political forces.

Territorial effectiveness concerns the relationship between a particular political area and a functioning state system and because they are not coterminous, total state territory is therefore likely to include areas of varying effectiveness of control by the central authority. James used the phrase "effective national territory" to describe that portion under control by the central authority.[18] As Muir indicates, this is a valuable but underdeveloped concept.[19] It is a term that seems particularly descriptive to me, indicative of that portion of the formal region of the state which functions as a cohesive spatial unit.

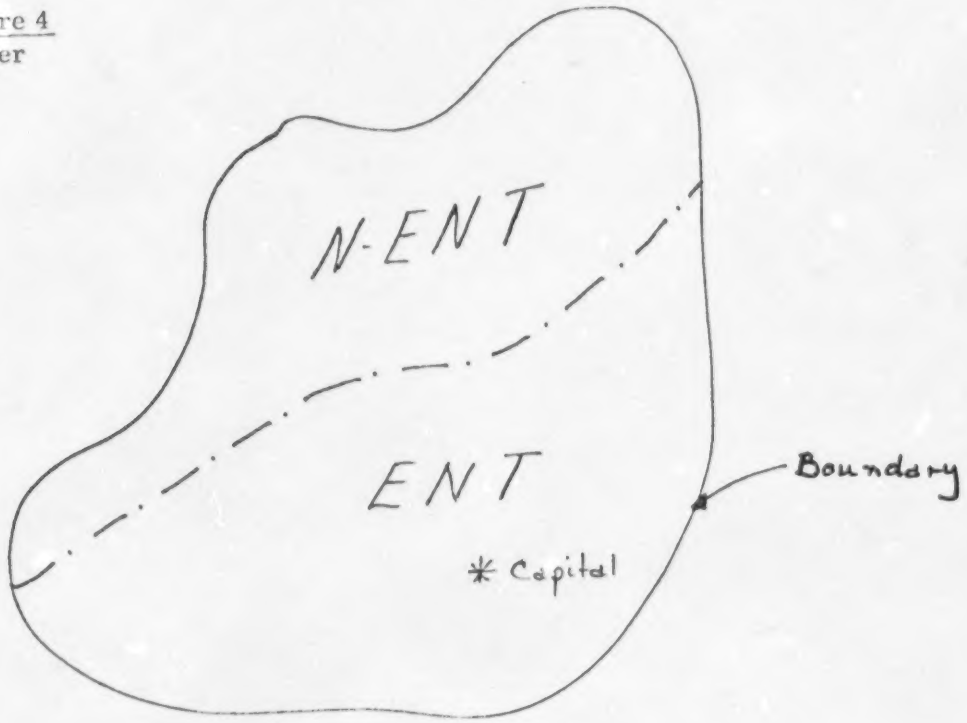
A re-formulation of a model of political territory, using James's concept, effective national territory, is shown in Figure 4. It has a boundary incorporating the state's legally defined political territory, the area of sovereignty over which the central authority theoretically has dominion and represents to the remainder of the international community. As indicated earlier, and as Muir and Paddison state, " . . . in the modern state. . . the notions of territory and sovereignty are inextricably linked."[20]

This formal region of the state can be subdivided into two other units. The first is that portion of state territory where the central authority has control and can exercise coercive power. Preferably, the control should be more than nominal; it should function in some effective way. And the power should not just be limited to simple occupation by military forces. It should be evident in the normal, civil operations of government in serving the needs of the citizens of the state. This functional region is called the effective national territory, after James,[21] or ENT. Within this regional unit would be the capital.

The areal difference between a state's political space in formal and functional terms is the non-effective national territory or N-ENT. It is that portion outside the normal reach of the state's central authority. Its existence and spatial extent may vary in time in one state because of the dynamic character of the political process and the relative strengths of succeeding central authorities. Similarly, it may vary from state to state at any one time. It is, however, found in many states of the world in one degree or another.

Whebell used the term, frontier, to describe this area.[22] I prefer

Figure 4
Walter



N-ENT for two reasons. One, frontier has traditionally been used to describe unclaimed political area, outside the bounds of known political units.[23] Clearly, this region is not so characterized. At best, it may be a modern, low-order version of the frontier in the sense that the central authority seeks to incorporate the N-ENT into the ENT.[24] Second, frontier does not provide sufficient contrast to the functional region and does not have the process element (or rather lack of it) as part of its definition.

Prior writers have concentrated on the functional region of the state (ENT) and virtually ignored the N-ENT. Yet, I would maintain it is of equal importance to the state in spatial terms because its presence establishes a two-region spatial structure in the political area. This structure has impact on the political processes of the state because in functioning (effectively), the central authority will attempt to eliminate this element if it is to fulfill its prime objective. The extent to which it can accomplish this change will alter the spatial structure, tying process (function) and structure into an interdependent relationship. The interaction between structure and function continues.

Selected Examples of State N-ENT

Although all states may have a portion of their territory as N-ENT on a short-time basis or on specific issues, it is best developed as a persistent element of state morphology among Third World states. The defining characteristics of N-ENT are in part related to those that define ENT, but not limited to those. Two traditional criteria used to define the core or

ecumene (ENT) are population distribution/density and transportation/communication links.[25] Logically then, if the presence of these criteria can demarcate one region, their absence can indicate the N-ENT. A number of states in Africa have large stretches of their national area without any permanent population. Examples would be eastern Mauretania, northern Mali, northern Niger, and northern Chad. Additionally, some states have portions of their area outside the communication network of the country even though the area may have population. Examples would be southern Sudan, northeastern Zaire, southern Ethiopia in Africa; southwestern Belize in Central America; and eastern Peru or northeastern Bolivia in South America.

These criteria alone, however, do not indicate the full range and variety of types of N-ENT which can exist. Again, Africa and South America provide examples. There is the case where a section of one state is outside the central authority's control because of a neighboring state's claim and occupation. This has occurred in Chad when Libya claimed a strip along the northern border. Another example of N-ENT would be where dissident groups are located. The UNITA area of Angola is an example of this as well as the Luba movement in a portion of southern Zaire. In the case of Zaire, the state has two areas of N-ENT, each defined with different criteria. Morocco, in extending its legal territory to incorporate the former Spanish Sahara, presents a variant on the dissident group example. Much of the newly annexed area is N-ENT and held only by military occupation. Finally, in South America, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil have large areas of N-ENT. Perceptually, these areas are seen by the respective governments as "resource frontiers",

although they have not functioned that way. Odell and Preston argue they are empty because of their resource poverty and "thus they still lie largely outside the effective national territories of the countries concerned."[26]

Canada is a last example of a state with N-ENT and while providing contrast with those above, demonstrates that the concept is not limited to Third World states. The important criteria here is nationality/ethnicity. Quebec has long been a difficult area for the federal government because of its different national population and despite its population density and communication links to the rest of the state. Similarly,in the Northwest Territories are the Dene who ". . . insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation . . ."[27] The effectiveness of control by the central authority in such area is questionable and thus, the concept of N-ENT applicable.

Conclusion

James's concept of effective national territory is a useful one because it places emphasis on the functioning capability of the government and the area it controls. However, it needs to be expanded to include that area of the state outside the reach of control authority. Moreover, such expansion enables one to establish the critical link between political systems, the functional process, and spatial structures of political space. Only by seeing these elements as part of an interdependent, synergistic whole can we understand politics in its spatial context and the variation it creates on the earth's surface. Such understandings will hopefully lead to better solutions to the world's political problems.

NOTES

1. Richard Hartshorne, "Political Geography in the Modern World," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 4, 1 (1960), pp. 52-66 and Martin Ira Glassner and Harm J. deBlij, Systematic Political Geography, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1980 (Third Edition), pp. 43-44.

2. Richard Hartshorne, "The Functional Approach in Political Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 40, 1 (1950), pp. 95-130 and W. A. Douglas Jackson and Marwyn S. Samuels (eds.), Politics and Geographic Relationships Toward a New Focus. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971 (Second Edition), pp. 1-40.

3. Hartshorne, "The Functional Approach . . ."

4. Richard Muir and Ronan Paddison. Politics, Geography and Behaviour. Methuen: London, 1981, pp. 151-152.

5. Edward Soja, "A Paradigm for the Geographical Analysis of Political Systems," in Locational Approaches to Power and Conflict (eds.) K. R. Cox, D. R. Reynolds, and S. Rokkan. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Halsted Press, 1974, pp. 47-51.

6. Peter Gould, "Tanzania, 1920-63: The Spatial Impress of the Modernization Process," World Politics, 22 (1970), pp. 149-170.

7. Frederick Ratzel "The Laws of the Spatial Growth of States," in The Structure of Political Geography, (eds.) R. E. Kasperson and J. V. Minghi. Chicago: Aldine, 1969, pp. 17-29. (English Translation)

8. Derwent S. Whittlesey. The Earth and State. New York: H. Holt and Co., 1939.

9. Norman J. G. Pounds and S. S. Ball, "Core Areas and The Development of The European State System," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 54, 1 (1964), pp. 24-40.

10. Norman J. G. Pounds. Political Geography. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972 (Second Edition), pp. 187-198.

11. C. F. J. Whebell, "Models of Political Territory," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, 2(1970), pp. 152-156.

12. Glassner and deBlij. Systematic Political Geography, p. 99.

13. Ken Madden. The Powers of Populations. North Quincy, Mass.: The Christopher Publishing House, 1979, p. 96-97.

14. Iqtidar H. Zaidi, "Toward A Measure of the Functional Effectiveness of A State: The Case of West Pakistan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 56, 1 (1966), pp. 52-67.

15. Ibid, p. 55

16. Christian P. Potholm. Four African Political Systems. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, p. 3.

17. Derwent S. Whittlesey, "The Impress of Effective Central Authority Upon The Landscape," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 25, 1 (1935), pp. 85-97.

18. Preston E. James. Latin America. New York: Odyssey Press, 1959 (Third Edition), p. 11.

19. Richard Muir. Modern Political Geography. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Halsted Press, 1975, p. 40.

20. Muir and Paddison, p. 151.

21. James, op cit.

22. Whebell, op cit.

23. Ladis K. D. Kristof, "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 49, 2 (1959), pp. 269-282.

24. Low-order is used to describe this modern variant of frontier because it occurs within a state. An example of a high-order version of the frontier is a buffer zone where competing ideologies vie to extend their influence (control) over whole states.

25. Karl W. Deutsch. Nationalism and Social Communication. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1953, pp. 23-30, 70-74, and 78-80 and Whittlesey, The Earth and State, p. 10.

26. P. R. Odell and D. A. Preston. Economics and Societies in Latin America: A Geographical Interpretation. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978 (Second Edition), p. 185.

27. David B. Knight, "Canada in Crisis: The Power of Regionalisms," in Tension Areas of the World, (ed.) D. Gordon Bennett. Delray Beach, Fla.: Park Press, 1982, p. 275.